

## Message Text

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ACTION EA-06

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 L-01 H-01 INR-05 PM-05 PRS-01  
SP-02 OMB-01 NSC-05 NSCE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 SSO-00  
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FM AMEMBASSY WELLINGTON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3677

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 WELLINGTON 03050

LIMDIS

FOLLOWING TEL SENT ACTION AMEMBASSY WELLINGTON FROM AMEMBASSY BANGKOK  
25

JUL REPEATED FOR YOUR INFO

QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L BANGKOK 16238

LIMDIS

FOR PASCOE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PGOV, TH, US, OVIP

SUBJECT: DEPUTY SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER'S CALL ON PRIME  
MINISTER THANIN

PER YOUR REQUEST, FOLLOWING FORWARDED FOR YOUR REVIEW  
AND APPROVAL BEFORE TRANSMISSION FROM HERE TO WASHINGTON.  
SUMMARY: DEPUTY SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER HAD A USEFUL  
45-MINUTE SUBSTANTIVE EXCHANGE WITH PRIME MINISTER  
THANIN. MAJOR SUBJECTS COVERED INCLUDED US-THAI RELATIONS,  
NARCOTICS, HUMAN RIGHTS INCLUDING THE REFUGEE SITUATION,  
AND THAI RELATIONS WITH IT COMMUNIST NEIGHBORS AND CHINA.  
DISCUSSION WAS FRIENDLY AND THANIN APPEARED HIGHLY  
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APPRECIATIVE OF USG INTEREST IN THEILAND AS DEMONSTRATED  
BY DEPUTY SECRETARY'S VISIT.

1. DEPUTY SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER, ACCOMPANIED BY MEMBERS  
OF HIS PARTY, AMBASSADOR WHITEHOUSE, DCM BURKE AND O'DONOHUE  
CALLED ON THANIN JULY 25. THE 45-MINUTE MEETING WAS  
HIGHLY SUBSTANTIVE WITH THANIN TAKING OCCASION TO SPEAK

AT LENGTH ON RANGE OF SUBJECTS. FOR THIS PART, DEPUTY SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER STRESSED CONTINUING U.S. INTEREST IN THAILAND AND STRENGTH OF OUR BASIC TIES WITH THAILAND AS WE MOVE TO NEW RELATIONSHIPS.

2. IN INITIAL EXCHANGE THANIN ASKED CHRISTOPHER TO CONVEY TO THE PRESIDENT HIS APPRECIATION FOR PRESIDENT'S LATTER REGARDING NARCOTICS AS WELL AS THANIN'S DEEP PERSONAL REGARD FOR PRESIDENT. MORE GENERALLY, COMMENTING ON HIS APPROACH TO THE NARCOTICS SITUATION, THANIN SAID PROBLEM IS RECEIVING HIS PERSONAL ATTENTION AND THAT RTG WOULD PERSIST IN ITS EFFORTS. HE SAID HE IS FULLY AWARE THAT NARCOTICS PROBLEM IS A DANGEROUS PROBLEM NOT ONLY IN ITS INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS BUT ALSO AS A MAJOR PROBLEM FOR THAILAND. HE SAID HE FULLY AWARE THERE IS NO ALTERNATIVE FOR RTG BUT TO PROGRESS STEADILY IN ITS EFFORTS TO ERADICATE THE PROBLEM. FOR HIS PART, CHRISTOPHER INDICATED OUR APPRECIATION FOR MAJOR RTG EFFORTS IN THE PAST MONTHS COMPLIMENTING THANIN ON RECENT MAJOR SEIZURES HERE.

3. IN ADDRESSING BROADER ASPECTS OF U.S.- THAI RELATIONS, THANIN POINTED OUT THAILAND'S PERCEPTION OF U.S. AS ITS LONGEST STANDING FRIEND AND THE MUTUAL NEED TO MAINTAIN CLOSE RELATIONS. CHRISTOPHER EXPLAINED THAT BOTH THE PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY WISHED HIM TO CONVEY THE IM-  
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PORTANCE WE ATTACH TO RELATIONS WITH THAILAND AND OUR RECOGNITION OF OUR LONG-STANDING FRIENDSHIP WITH THAILAND. IN PERIOD FOLLOWING WITHDRAWAL OF OUR MILITARY PRESENCE OBVIOUSLY CONDITIONS HAVE CHANGED. HOWEVER, WE EXPECT AND HOPE THAT THESE CHANGES WILL BE FOR THE BETTER AS WE MOVE TO NEW CONSTRUCTIVE, PEACEFUL RELATIONSHIPS.

4. THANIN SAID THAT IN HIS DISCUSSIONS WITH OTHER ASEAN LEADERS, HE HAS EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF THAT ORGANIZATION IN TERMS OF SECURITY, ECONOMIC AND POLITICEL BENEFITS. HOWEVER, WHILE ASEAN IS WELL-FITTED FOR THE NEEDS OF ITS MEMBERS THEY MUST ALSO LOOK BEYOND THAT TO CLOSE COOPERATION WITH U.S., JAPAN, AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND.

5. CHRISTOPHER ASSURED THANIN OF CONTINUED U.S. INTEREST IN SOUTHEAST ASIA AND OF OUR STRONG SUPPORT FOR ASEAN. HE POINTED OUT THAT AS THE SECRETARY PREVIOUSLY INDICATED, THE U.S. INTENDS TO REMAIN A PACIFIC POWER AND WISHES TO HELP ASEAN NATIONS IN THEIR EFFORTS TO CREATE A NEW, STRONG RELATIONSHIP WITH US. THANIN SAID HE WAS DELIGHTED TO HEAR THAT AND WOULD LIKE TO DISCUSS WITH US LATER ON HOW

BEST WE MIGHT FIND AREAS OF COOPERATION.

6. CHRISTOPHER BROUGHT UP HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION EXPLAIN-  
ING THE HIGH PERSONAL IMPORTANCE PRESIDENT CARTER PUTS ON  
THE MORAL VALUES INHERENT IN OUR HUMAN RIGHTS APPROACH.  
HE EXPLAINED THAT OUR APPROACH INCLUDES RECOGNITION OF  
THREE MAJOR CATEGORIES OF HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERNS: DIRECT  
VIOLATIONS OF INTEGRITY OF THE INDIVIDUAL  
SUCH AS TORTURE; FREEDOM FROM WANT; AND POLITICAL AND  
SOCIAL FREEDOMS. HE EXPLAINED CAREFULLY THAT THESE  
ARE ASPIRATIONS TOWARD WHICH WE BELIEVE ALL CAN ASPIRE  
AND OUR APPROACH IS NOT DESIGNED TO SINGLE OUT INDIVIDUAL  
COUNTRIES OR CLAIM SPECIAL VIRTUES FOR OURSELVES. RATHER  
IT IS A BROAD EFFORT TO ENCOURAGE RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS  
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THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

7. IN THE CASE OF THAILAND, CHRISTOPHER INDICATED THAT  
WE RECOGNIZED AND ADMIRE  
THE GENEROUS THAI ACTION IN ACCEPTING  
DISPROPORTIONALLY LARGE NUMBERS OF REFUGEES. FOR OUR  
PART, WE HAVE TAKEN LARGE NUMBERS OF REFUGEES ALREADY AND  
ARE IN THE PROCESS OF ABSORBING THEM INTO OUR SOCIETY.  
AS THE PRIME MINISTER IS AWARE, WE HAVE DECIDED TO TAKE  
150,000 ADDITIONAL REFUGEES AND ARE NOW LOOKING AT  
MEANS TO IMPLEMENTING THIS DECISION.

8. CHRISTOPHER ALSO NOTED OUR GENERAL CONCERNS IN SUCH

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FM AMEMBASSY WELLINGTON  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3678

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FOR PASCOE

RESPONDED, STRESSING THAT THE THAI GOVERNMENT BELIEVES THAT IT DOES HAVE DEEP RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS. IT IS OPPOSED TO THE USE OF TORTURE AND THANIN SAID HE MAKES A PARTICULAR POINT OF STRESSING TO POLICE THAT THEY ARE LAW OFFICERS WHO MUST OBSERVE LAW OF THE LAND OR BE PUNISHED MORE SEVERELY THAN THE ORDINARY CITIZEN.

9. THANIN ACKNOWLEDGED THAT ARTICLE 21 DOES INVOLVE INFRINGEMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN THAT IT PERMIT SUMMARY TRIALS IN NARCOTICS, RAPIST-KILLER AND ARSON CASES. THIS PROCESS IS TO PERMIT EXPEDITIOUS ACTION IN COMBATING THESE CRIMES SINCE COURT PROCESSES WOULD TAKE 3 YEARS BEFORE COMPLETION. SUCH LENGTHY DELAYS MEAN THAT THERE IS NO IMMEDIATE DETERRENT EFFECT WHETHER THE OFFENDER IS EVENTUALLY PUNISHED OR NOT.

10. AT THE SAME TIME, THANIN SAID THAT BECAUSE OF SUMMARY NATURE OF ARTICLE 21 THE RTG APPROACHES EACH CASE HANDLED IN ACCORDANCE WITH ITS PROVISIONS CAREFULLY AND CAUTIOUSLY TO BE SURE THAT THERE ARE SAFEGUARDS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND THAT THE TRUTH OF ANY CHARGES ARE ESSENTIAL

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TABLISHED. HE EXPLAINED THERE IS A 3-TIER PROCESS INVOLVING: A) REVIEW OF CASE BY JUDICIAL COMMITTEE MORE THAN HALF OF WHOM ARE JUDGES; B) REVIEW AND DISCUSSION OF THE CASE BY THE CABINET; AND FINALLY C) REVIEW BY THE ADVISORY COUNCIL. IT IS ONLY WHEN ALL OF THESE STEPS ARE COMPLETED- AND AFTER ALL ARE AGREED--THAT ANY SENTENCE IS CARRIED OUT. THANIN INDICATED THAT ESSENTIAL JUSTIFICATION FOR THIS PROCESS IS APPARENT IN NARCOTICS CASES WHERE ALREADY THERE HAS BEEN A SIGNIFICANT INCREASE IN HEROIN PRICES IN EUROPE AS A RESULT. FURTHER, THE PUBLIC IS VERY SATISFIED WITH MANNER IN WHICH RTG IS PROCEEDING AND RECOGNIZES IT AS MOST EFFECTIVE WAY OF SUPPRESSING NARCOTICS TRADE.

11. THANIN THEN WENT ON TO GIVE BRIEF JUSTIFICATION FOR RTG APPROACH TO GUIDED DEMOCRACY WHICH WOULD LEAD IN THREE YEARS TO LOCAL ELECTIONS AS FIRST STEP OF CREATING DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS NECESSARY FOR EVENTUAL ESTABLISHMENT OF DEMOCRATIC RULE. WITHOUT SUCH CONSCIOUSNESS, BASED ON PAST THAI EXPERIENCE, HE SAID THERE WOULD BE NO

POLITICAL RECOGNITION THAT RIGHTS AND FREEDOM MUST GO SIDE BY SIDE WITH A SENSE OF POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY. AT THE SAME TIME, THANIN SAID THAT HE FULLY UNDERSTOOD NEED FOR FULL PARTICIPATION BY PEOPLE IN GOVERNMENT AND THAT WAS OBJECTIVE OF POLITICAL PROCESS HE HAD OUTLINED.

12. CHRISTOPHER SAID THAT USG AGREED FULLY THAT PARTICIPATION BY PEOPLE IN GOVERNMENT IS THE ESSENTIAL OBJECTIVE. HE NOTED THAT DIRECTION IN WHICH A GOVERNMENT IS MOVING IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN SINGLE ACTIONS AND TREND IN THAILAND WAS IN RIGHT DIRECTION. AT THE SAME TIME, HE NOTED IT IS IMPORTANT TO KEEP MOVING IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION AND EXPRESSED HOPE TREND OUTLINED BY

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PRIME MINISTER WOULD BE A STEADY ONE. WHILE USG DOES RECOGNIZE IMPORTANCE OF NATIONAL SECURITY CONSIDERATIONS, CHRISTOPHER ALSO NOTED IT IS ALSO IMPORTANT TO RECOGNIZE THAT NATIONAL SECURITY COULD BE USED AS AN EXCUSE FOR

DENYING HUMAN RIGHTS PERMANENTLY.

13. IN DISCUSSING U.S.- VIETNAM POLICY, CHRISTOPHER EXPLAINED THAT WE BELIEVE ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH OTHER NATIONS IS IN ITSELF IMPORTANT. AS PRIME MINISTER KNEW, WE AGREED TO ENTRY OF VIETNAM INTO UNITED NATIONS AND DESIRE TO MOVE TO NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS. FOR ITS PART, VIETNAM HAS LINKED SUBSTANTIAL AID AND REPARATIONS TO NORMALIZATION. WE DO NOT INTEND TO GIVE EITHER AID OR REPARATIONS AS A CONDITION FOR NORMALIZATION.

14. IN DISCUSSING RECENT BORDER INCIDENTS WITH CAMBODIA, THANIN SPECULATED THAT ONE REASON FOR CAMBODIAN ACTIONS WAS TO DIVERT ATTENTION OF POPULATION FROM INTERNAL PROBLEMS. HE NOTED IN THAT REGARDED THAT BOTH VIETNAM AND LAOS HAVE EVEN WORSE BORDER STRAINS WITH CAMBODIANS THAN THAILAND. THANIN COMMENTED THAT SOME OF RECENT INCIDENTS OBVIOUSLY WERE LOCAL IN THEIR INSPIRATION SINCE SOME OF THE COMMUNIST FORCES ALONG BORDERS WERE FORMER BANDITS USED TO BORDER FORAYS. AT THE SAME TIME, OTHER INCIDENTS DID INVOLVE HIGHER CAMBODIAN CENTRAL GOVERNMENT ECHELONS. FOR ITS PART, THANIN SAID THE RTFG IS TRYING TO ESTABLISH CLEARLY DEFINED BORDER LINE. FURTHER, IT DOES NOT WANT TO JEOPARDIZE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND WILL CONTINUE TO TRY ITS BEST TO REACT ONLY LOCALLY TO CAMBODIAN BORDER INCIDENTS WHICH HE EXPECTS TO CONTINUE.

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FOR: PASCOE

15. THANIN RAISED QUESTION OF U.S. RELATIONS WITH TAIWAN. CHRISTOPHER POINTED OUT THAT OUR OBJECTIVE IS TO NORMALIZE RELATIONS WITH THE PRC AND SECRETARY VANCE WILL BE PROCEEDING TO PEKING ON AUGUST 20 TO CONTINUE OUR DIALOGUE ON THIS WITH THE CHINESE. AT THE SAME TIME, WE MAINTAIN FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH TAIWEN, PARTICULARLY IN THE TRADE FIELD AS WELL AS CONTINUING TO SELL ARMS. IN OUR EFFORT TO NORMALIZE RELATIONS WITH CHINA, WE DO NOT WISH TO PRECEED IN ANY MANNER WHICH WOULD BE HARMFUL TO TAIWAN.

16. THANIN INTERJECTED THAT HE DID NOT LIKE CURRENT STATE OF THAI RELATIONS WITH PRC. PREVIOUS GOVERNMENT HAD RECOGNIZED PRC ON CHINESSE TERMS. HOWEVER, HE DID NOT LIKE "TO DANCE TO THE CHINESE TUNE." THANIN SAID HE WISHED TO FIND WAYS TO RECOGNIZE TAIWAN AGAIN. IN THAT CONTEXT HE INDICATED HIS GREAT RESPECT FOR TAIWAN AND HOPED THAT WE WOULD NOT TAKE ACTIONS WHICH WOULD WORSEN ITS SITUATION. THANIN CHARACTERIZED "ONE CHINA" AS AN "ABUSRD CONCEPT" WHICH SHOULD NOT BE ACCEPTED DESPITE PRC EFFORTS

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TO IMPOSE IT (THIS IS VINTAGE THANIN AND HIS VIEWS ON THIS DO NOT REFLECT EITHER POLICY OF GOVERNMENT OR MORE REALISTIC ASSESSMENT HELD BY OTHER MEMBERS OF HIS GOVERNMENT. IN SEPARAGE CONVERSATION, FOREIGN MINISTER WAS CAREFUL TO POINT OUT RTG DESIRE TO MAINTAIN GOOD RELATIONS WITH PRC).

17. CHRISTOPHER ALSO RAISED WITH THENIN QUESTION OF THAI RELATIONS WITH BURMA. THANIN SAID THEY WERE QUITE SATISFACTORY AND THAT HE WAS PLEASED WITH CURRENT STATE OF RELATIONS. WHILE NARCOTICS COOPERATION WAS NOT SATISFACTORY YET, THIS WAS IN PART BECAUSE BURMESE DO NOT HAVE ENOUGH TRAINED PERSONEL TO COOPERATE EFFECTIVELY. HOWEVER, THE RTG IS HAPPY WITH THE CURRENT SITUATION AND HOPES TO DEVELOP CLOSER RELATIONSHIPS.

18. IN CLOSING REMARKS, THANIN EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR OAKLEY'S TESTIMONY ON HUMAN RIGHTS WHICH HE BELIEVED WAS A BALANCED STATEMENT. CHRISTOPHER AND OAKLEY POINTED OUT THAT OUR APPROACH HAD BEEN AN OBJECTIVE ONE IN WHICH WE LISTED BOTH AREAS IN WHICH RTG DESERVED PRAISE AS WELL AS POINTS OF CONCER.

19. SEPTELS REPORT EXCHANGES ON THANIN VISIT, AIT AND SIAM KRAFT PAPER COMPANY CASE.  
BURKE UNQUOTE SELDEN

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## Message Attributes

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